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177 formerly had a few riding oxen. Both of these are due to European
492 contact. The Tsimahety, at the northern end of the plateau, use oxen as pack animals and apparently have done so since pre-European times. The loads are placed in cloth bags, which are slung across the animal behind the hump, one hanging on each side.

233 It is safe to say that if all the cattle belonging to the Tanala
556 Menabe were destroyed over night, no member of the tribe would miss a meal or suffer any other serious hardship. Their loss would be somewhat more serious to the Ikongo, but they would still be able to get along quite well without them. In spite of this lack of practical value, cattle are everywhere of great social importance.
[454] With the possible exception of slaves, which no longer exist, they represent the only form of interest-bearing investment possible under native conditions. Every man tries to accumulate as many as possible and his standing in the community is largely determined by
[777] the size of his herd. Charms to increase the fertility of cattle are common and cattle are only sold or killed in case of absolute necessity. They are regarded almost as members of the family and the idiosyncrasies of each animal are well known. One informant told me that they are the only animals which possess souls. They are not regarded
[782] as sacred, but the killing of an ox, either as a sacrifice or for meat, is an integral part of practically all important ceremonies.

685 Although the Tanala consider ordinary theft as one of the most
556 serious of all offenses, cattle stealing is regarded as honorable so long as the members of one's own village are not molested. In fact, it is considered a proper occupation for a young man of spirit and offers an easy road to wealth and advancement. The native attitude is comparable to that of our own Plains Indians toward horse
●[721] stealing. Cattle formed the most important part of the spoil in warfare and a successful theft was in the nature of a war exploit. European efforts to suppress it have rather heightened the thief's prestige by increasing his hazards.

541 Bull baiting and watching fighting bulls were both important
764 sports in pre-European times. They still persist, but are becoming rare. I could get no information on bull baiting among the Ikongo, but it was probably a regular part of important funerals there, as among the Menabe. In the latter group it was customary, in the course of the funeral festivities, to drive up one or two bulls. These were baited by the young men, who would incite them to charge and then avoid their rushes, swing by their tails, leap on their backs, etc. A favorite trick was to await the charge, catch the bull's

426 even to his sons until he thinks he is about to die. Loans and other business transactions involving money are always made publicly, in the presence of witnesses, even when they are between members of the same lineage.

423 In discussing the Tanala ideas of property it is necessary to distinguish at the outset between land and property of all other sorts. To understand the native attitude toward land, the local conditions must be kept in mind. In pre-European times the popula- [361] tion was sparse and apparently almost static. The villages lay far apart, each one surrounded by a great stretch of uninhabited [433] forest. The natural supply of forest products and of land for pasture always exceeded the local needs. Moreover, the *tavy* method of agriculture required that the land be allowed to lie fallow for from five to ten years between plantings. Under such conditions there was little incentive for individual ownership.

423 In pre-European times the ultimate ownership of land was 621 vested in the village. Each village owned a definite territory whose 596 limits were established at the time it was founded. The boundaries were usually rivers, mountain ranges or other natural divisions. [721] The villages were jealous of their rights and serious trespass, such as pasturing cattle or cutting *tavy*, would result in war. Transfer of land between lineages of the same village was permissible and not uncommon, but its sale to outsiders was impossible without the consent of the council. Actually, it was so rare as to be almost unknown.

The ownership of land within the village stockade was vested in the various lineages, except for the *kianza* ("village square"), which was common property. Each lineage owned a ward, which was usually a segment extending from the *kianza* to the stockade (see The Village). If a lineage grew too large for its ward, all the members contributed to buy land from the adjoining lineages. When one or more families withdrew to form a new lineage, the ward was divided.

Among the Menabe, fallow land and virgin jungle were, for all practical purposes, held in common. A villager was entitled to place beehives, set traps and gather timber and forest products [233] on any land which was not in use. Cattle could also be pastured anywhere, those of the entire village usually being kept in a single herd. For agricultural purposes the land was, at least in theory, divided into sectors running from the village to the limits of its territory. Each sector lay in the same direction with regard to

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mpandevina [assistants]. An ox is killed near the tomb and a great deal of rice cooked. Men, women and children follow the cortege to the tomb dancing and singing. After the interment the *mpandevina* take their meal in the open air, returning to the village afterward. To end the fête one or more oxen are killed and the meat distributed to all the assistants. The funeral ceremony is called *mandrava lanona*. A funeral without cattle killing is scorned by the people. 764

"On the day of a funeral, before the cortege leaves for the *kibory* [clan tomb] the chief of the *kibory* stands before the body and makes the following speech: 'Oh thou who art dead, today we are separated forever, not by our wish but by the will of *Zanahary*. We will carry thee to the tomb where thy ancestors rest. Remain there with them and do not return to bring evil into the house. If, however, thy death has been caused by sorcery, may thy ghost quickly slay the evil doer. Do good to us and drive away all diseases.' After the body has been placed in the tomb the chief of the *kibory* or his representative makes the following speech: 'Oh you who are in this house, listen to what I say. We are now sending you so-and-so [giving name], one whom *Zanahary* has taken from us. Receive him to rest with you. Do not let him wander everywhere. Do not scorn him, for he is one of the last little children of one from whom we are all descended.'

"In former times *Mpanzaka* [kings] were usually interred secretly. 766 When a king was ill no one except the members of his family could 643 enter the house where he was. A post, *adiby*, was set up in front of his door as a prohibition to enter. If the king died he was buried secretly that night by the village chiefs and *Notables*. His wives, children and relatives were forbidden to weep or to wear any sign of mourning. If asked how the king was they must answer that he was *mafanafana* [indisposed]. The reason for this was that the [72] tribes were constantly at war and the king was the military leader. If the enemy learned the king was dead they would attack the leaderless tribe and almost certainly defeat it. After some months, during which the people had chosen a new king, guns were fired on the highest hill in the tribe's territory. This announced the death of the king. On learning the sad news everyone wept in the villages. As a sign of grief they unbraided their hair and wore it hanging loose, and dressed in old mats. All the people went to the king's village. There they feasted for several days during which cattle were killed and the meat distributed. The new king was placed in a special house and no one might approach him except the *Anakandriana*

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are selected for their poisonous qualities, but the other ingredients are considered magical. The cock's bill gives the dart sure direction and force, like a cock pecking, the rag from the piston bellows increases the force of the air, and the *hisika* wood, which is dark red, will cause the animal to bleed to the last drop.

The poison is made into a cake. Just before shooting a little of it is smeared on the head of the dart and a pinch put on the shooter's tongue. The Tanala say that this poison will kill a large lemur in four or five minutes and that it does not injure the flesh. It is possible to eat even the parts immediately about the wound. I suspect that the active principle in the poison comes from the *hisika* wood, or from some compound which it forms with the insect poisons, for the area within which effective blow-gun poison is known seems to correspond closely with the natural range of this tree.

In addition to the actual poison just described, there is a belief in magical poisons. One informant told me that if a blow-gun was rubbed with the juice of a certain plant all arrows shot from it would be poisonous. Another spoke of a medicine made from a certain root which was so deadly that if it was placed under a house everyone inside would suffer from stomach ache. The hunter inoculated himself with this by rubbing a little of it into a cut in his lower lip and thereafter all darts he shot would be poisonous.

The darts are carried in quivers of wood or bamboo with tight-fitting wooden covers to protect them from the constant rain (Fig. 24, c). Their maximum effective range is 50 to 60 yards.

The bow seems to have been known to all the Madagascar tribes, but the Tsimahety, in the northern part of the central plateau, were the only ones who used it in war. It is said to have been their main arm. Elsewhere it was little more than a toy and was rarely used by adults. The only Tanala bow seen was a toy (Fig. 28, b), but it is said that large boys formerly used them for hunting. The hunting bows were about 3 feet long and roughly made. The arrows were about 2 feet long and unfeathered. They were usually simply whittled to a point, but one informant had heard of iron arrowheads, made from bits of thin metal with a socket for the shaft.

WARFARE

The Tanala were not lacking in courage or fighting ability, as is proved by their long and successful resistance to the Hova empire, but they were one of the least warlike tribes in Madagascar. A *mélange* of defeated gentes, numerically weak and politically divided,

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721 they were content to remain in their own territory, only asking to
181 be let alone. They had little incentive for internal strife, for there was no great spoil in cattle to be gained and only the southern gentes were in reach of slave markets. The various political groups fought among themselves from time to time, but their wars were rarely of long duration.

701 The Tanala Ikongo seem to have been considerably more
721 warlike than the northern division and had a rather better military organization, patterned on that of the neighboring tribes. Sadaro Antoine says: "The king was the commander of the army and had charge also of recruiting. In time of peace there were no soldiers but in war all served. Before going on an expedition the king called together all the gens and village chiefs and informed them that an attack was projected against such and such a gens. He ordered the mobilization of the *fanalolahy* [reserve officers], the recruiting of soldiers, the purchase of guns and ammunition, if there were not enough, and the making of spears and the gathering of food. The gens and village chiefs promised to fulfil his orders and returned to their villages. On a day fixed by the *ombiasy* [medicine-man] all the soldiers, commanded by the *fanalolahy*, presented themselves before the king. He made them the following speech: 'I thank you for answering my appeal. I wish to attack such and such a gens and ask your courage and devotion. I hope that you will always be brave and valiant.' An armed *fanalolahy* then advanced and replied: 'Sire, have confidence in us. We will be prompt to carry out your wishes.' To show his strength and agility he threw his spear into the air and caught it again, advanced, retreated and danced about before the crowd." The actual speeches were long and flowery and a number of officers from different gentes and villages replied. "After the *kabary* [speech making] the king gave cattle to the soldiers. These were killed and the meat distributed among them. The *fananqany* [withers] and the *trafony* [hump] were given to the
726 *fanalolahy*. The morning of the day fixed for their departure the king put a silver bracelet on his *fatora* [sacrifice post] and addressed a prayer to *Zanahary* and the ancestors to give their protection and grant victory. The expedition took the road with the *fanalolahy* first, then the soldiers, then the king surrounded by the warriors of his household, and lastly the rearguard and the porters with the supplies. When they had arrived within a few miles of the enemy village they camped for the night in the forest or some hidden place. The *fanalolahy* sent forward patrols to study the position of the

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ody ("charms") were carried at the very head of the column by a man chosen because he had a fortunate name such as *Vanona* ("successful"), *Ndrembita* ("one who finishes what he has begun") or *Tongalana* ("honorable"). It was forbidden for anyone to pass this man on the march. The *ody* were special ones carried on all war parties and their power increased with success. At night the *ombiasy* stayed with them in a special hut. After the *ody* marched the *fanololahy*, then the king and *ombiasy*, and last the ordinary soldiers. When they had come close to the enemy village they went into camp and sent forward three or four scouts to reconnoiter the position. These reported to the *ombiasy* on their return and he arranged the plan of attack and decided whether or not to split the force into detachments. They spent the night in camp and attacked at dawn, at a trumpet signal. Neither the king nor *ombiasy* took part in the actual fighting. If the village surrendered with little or no resistance it was not looted or even fined, but was taken as a vassal. If the resistance was fierce and the attackers lost heavily, all the men were killed and the women and children enslaved. As a special severity the men's heads were cut off and hung up in the village for the hawks to eat. In rare cases the tomb of an enemy village was also burned, but this showed unusual rancor. The spoils were divided on the return of the party, the rules being much the same as in the southern division except that the *ombiasy* had first choice of the loot. No ceremonies attended the return.

If a village accepted vassalage, the heads of all the families in it went through a ceremony of submission. Water was prepared in a bowl with the same ingredients as for the oath of blood brotherhood. A spear was held in this head down, all the family heads grasping the shaft with the right hand. If there was not room enough for all, some of them held the left hands of those grasping the spear. The *ombiasy* of the victors tapped the shaft with a knife, repeating the blessings and curses of the blood brotherhood oath, except that the victors remained unbound by the agreement. An ox was killed and after taking the oath the family heads ate pieces of the liver. No ceremony attended its killing and it was not considered a sacrifice. Vassal villages paid no tribute but were expected to assist their overlords in war.

In addition to the regular war parties small slave-stealing raids were rather common. Sometimes as few as two warriors would go to a village and lie in wait near the spring, seizing a woman or child and carrying it off. There was usually a pursuit and the practice

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721 was a fruitful cause of wars. If the captive's village was too weak to fight, it sent some neutral to treat for ransom. Prisoners might [561] be exchanged against each other, or a family would give a slave of the same value for one of its members. The regular ransom was a silver chain reaching to the waist, or a number of cattle, ten being the maximum. Women were always valued above men.

712 Villages were fortified with stockades and at least some clans also employed deep ditches outside the stockade, but this does not seem to have been universal. At the gate a narrow bridge of earth was left. This was broken down on news of the approach of an enemy.